

# Normal Mbugu (G221)<sup>†</sup>

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## 001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. n.a.

## P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. n.a.

## P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 2

V shape

*ibápa*

i-bapa

NPx.CL5-forehead

‘a forehead’

zero-marking

*NkuNdi*

Ø-NkuNdi

NPx.CL5-skin

‘skin’

N. V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

## P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (excluding locative classes)

V. 16

1	m-, mw-	<i>mtfeku</i>	2	va-	<i>vatfeku</i>
		m-tfeku			va-tfeku
		NPx.CL1-wife			NPx.CL2-wife
		‘wife’			‘wives’

<sup>†</sup> Phonological inventory of Normal Mbugu: p, b, t, d, tʃ, dʒ, k, g, f, v, s, z, ʃ, x, ɣ, h, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, l, j, w, i, e, a, o, u. Besides these, there is a nasal /N/ that only occurs just before the strident and assimilates to it by point of articulation and voicing ([mp], [mb], [nt], [nd], [ŋk], [ŋg], [ɲv], and so on). Tonal marking is given as surface realization.

Abbreviations: APPL ‘applicative’; ASSC ‘associative’; CAUS ‘causative’; CLn ‘noun class number’; COND ‘conditional’; CONS<sub>1</sub> ‘consecutive 1’; CONS<sub>2</sub> ‘consecutive 2’; CONT ‘continuous’; COP ‘copula’; DEM ‘demonstrative’; DIST ‘distal’; FUT ‘future’; FV ‘final vowel’; HAB ‘habitual’; LOC ‘locative’; MED ‘medial’; NEG ‘negative marker’; NegCOP ‘negative copula’; NegFUT ‘negative future’; NegPST ‘negative past’; NegSM ‘negative subject marker’; NOML ‘nominalizer’; NPx ‘nominal prefix’; OM ‘object marker’; PASS ‘passive’; PL ‘plural’; POSS ‘possessive’; PPx ‘pronominal prefix’; PRO ‘pronoun’; PROX ‘proximal’; PRS ‘present’; PST<sub>1</sub> ‘past 1’; PST<sub>2</sub> ‘past 2’; REC ‘reciprocal’; REF ‘reflexive’; REL<sub>1</sub> ‘relative 1’; REL<sub>2</sub> ‘relative 2’; SG ‘singular’; SM ‘subject marker’; STAT ‘stative’; SUBJ ‘subjunctive’

1a	Ø-	<i>abá</i> Ø-aba NPx.CL1a-father ‘father’	2	va-	<i>váabá</i> va-aba NPx.CL2-father ‘fathers’
3	m-, mw-	<i>mýóNgó</i> m-yoNgo NPx.CL3-back ‘back’	4	mi-	<i>miyóNgó</i> mi-yoNgo NPx.CL4-back ‘backs’
5	i-, Ø-	<i>igí</i> i-gi NPx.CL5-egg ‘egg’	6	ma-	<i>magí</i> ma-gi NPx.CL6-egg ‘eggs’
7	ki-, tf-	<i>kidzó</i> ki-dzo NPx.CL7-food ‘food’	8	vi-, vj-	<i>vidzó</i> vi-dzo NPx.CL8-food ‘foods’
9	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkúkú</i> N-kuku NPx.CL9-chicken ‘chicken’	10	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkúkú</i> N-kuku NPx.CL10-chicken ‘chickens’
11	lu-	<i>lukwí</i> lu-kwi NPx.CL11-firewood ‘firewood’	10	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkwí</i> N-kwi NPx.CL10-firewood ‘firewoods’
12	ka-	<i>kawahá</i> ka-haNdwi NPx.CL12-knife ‘knife’	14	vu-	<i>vuwahá</i> vu-haNdwi NPx.CL14-knife ‘knives’
14a	u-	<i>uyaNga</i> u-yaNga NPx.CL14a-medical_care ‘medical care’	6	ma-	<i>mayaNga</i> ma-yaNga NPx.CL6-medical_care ‘medical cares’
14a	u-	<i>urefú</i> u-refu NPx.CL14a-long ‘length’	n.a.		

15	ku-	<i>kutóNga</i> ku-toNga NPx.CL15-go 'to go'	n.a.		
15	ku-	<i>kuyu</i> ku-yu NPx.CL15-leg 'leg'	6	ma-	<i>mayu</i> ma-yu NPx.CL16-leg 'legs'
16	ha-	<i>haNtu</i> ha-Ntu NPx.CL16-some 'place'	n.a.		

**P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?**

V. yes (CL.15)

**P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?**

V. yes

*kadzána/vudzána*

ka-dzana/vu-dzana

NPx.CL12-child/NPx.CL14-child

'infant/infants'

**P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?**

V. yes

*imamé/mamamé*

i-mame/ma-mame

NPx.CL5-mother/NPx.CL6-mother

'big mama/big mamas'

**P008 Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?**

V. no

**P009 Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?**

V. yes

**P010 Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?**

V. yes

*mweteni*

m-ete-ni

NPx.CL3-river-LOC

‘in/at/on, etc. the river’

N. Words of Bantu origin seem to be able to appear with locative suffix and the ones of non-Bantu origin may not. In such cases, the words can appear with preposition he ‘in/at/on, etc.’

**P011 Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?**

V. yes

*tʃuNbaní*

*áha*

*hékáa*

*vaNtu*

*vairí*

ki-uNba-ni

aha

ha-ka-a

va-Ntu

va-iri

NPx.CL7-room-LOC

DEM.PROX.CL16

SM.CL16-live-FV

NPx.CL2-some

NPx.CL2-2

‘Two persons live in this room.’

**P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?**

V. yes

*hába*

ha-b-a

OM.CL16-destroy-FV

‘Break there.’

**P013 Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?**

V. no

**P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?**

V. no

**P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?**

V. yes

*mwana*

*wa*

*ṁnané*

m-ana

wa

ṁnane

NPx.CL1-child

GEN.CL1

8

‘8th child’

**P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?**

V. no

**P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?**

V. yes

Normal Mbugu possessive pronoun stems

1SG	-aNgu	1PL	-etu
2SG	-ako	2PL	-eju
3SG	-akwe	3PL	-avo

**P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?**

V. no

**P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?**

V. 3

Inalienable possession

<i>áam̩biya</i>	<i>mtwí</i>
a;aa-m̩-biy-a	m̩-twi
SM.CL1;PST2-OM.CL1-hit-FV	NPx.CL3-head
‘He/She hit his/her head.’	

Alienable possession

<i>áam̩biya</i>	<i>mtwí</i>	<i>waNgú</i>
a;aa-m̩-biy-a	m̩-twi	wa-aNgu
SM.CL1;PST2-OM.CL1-hit-FV	NPx.CL3-head	PPx.CL3-POSS.1SG
‘He/She hit his/her head.’		

**P020 Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)**

V. 2

<i>mtí</i>	<i>úu</i>
m̩-ti	uu
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.PROX.CL3
‘this tree’	

<i>mtí</i>	<i>úo</i>
m̩-ti	uo
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.MED.CL3
‘the tree’	

<i>ṁti</i>	<i>úlá</i>
ṁ-ti	ula
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.DIST.CL3
‘that tree’	
N. three-way distinction	

**P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?**

V. 1

	proximal	medial	distal
CL1	<i>úu</i>	<i>úo</i>	<i>úlá</i>
CL2	<i>áva</i>	<i>ávo</i>	<i>válá</i>
CL3	<i>úu</i>	<i>úo</i>	<i>úlá</i>
CL4	<i>ii</i>	<i>íjo</i>	<i>ílá</i>
CL5	<i>ili</i>	<i>ilo</i>	<i>lílá</i>
CL6	<i>áa</i>	<i>áo</i>	<i>álá</i>
CL7	<i>ítfi</i>	<i>ítfo</i>	<i>kílá</i>
CL8	<i>ivi</i>	<i>ívjo</i>	<i>vílá</i>
CL9	<i>ii</i>	<i>íjo</i>	<i>ílá</i>
CL10	<i>ídzi</i>	<i>ídzo</i>	<i>dzílá</i>
CL11	<i>úlu</i>	<i>úlo</i>	<i>lúlá</i>
CL12	<i>áka</i>	<i>áko</i>	<i>kálá</i>
CL14	<i>úvu</i>	<i>úvwo</i>	<i>vúlá</i>
CL15	<i>úku</i>	<i>úko</i>	<i>kúlá</i>
CL16	<i>áha</i>	<i>áho</i>	<i>hálá</i>

**P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?**

V. no

**P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)**

V. yes

<i>ibwé</i>	<i>ibahá</i>	/	<i>mabwé</i>	<i>mabahá</i>
i-bwe	i-baha	/	ma-bwe	ma-baha
NPx.CL5-stone	NPx.CL5-big	/	NPx.CL6-stone	NPx.CL6-big
			‘big stones’	

Other adjective stems:

-ezó ‘good’; -tana ‘good’; -vivi ‘bad’; -gumú ‘hard’; -ezá ‘long’; -fúhí ‘short’; -bahá ‘big’; -viNba ‘heavy’; -fá ‘new’; -Nqíwa ‘another, other’; -Nqi ‘many’; -óse ‘all’; -dzíru ‘black’; -déwá ‘white’;

*-rótome* ‘red’; *-Ngáhi* ‘how many’

**P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?**

V. yes

<i>mtí</i>	<i>urótome</i>	/	<i>mití</i>	<i>irótome</i>
m-ti	u-rotome	/	mi-ti	i-rotome
NPx.CL3-wood	PPx.CL3-red	/	NPx.CL4-wood	PPx.CL4-red
‘red wood’			‘red woods’	

N. Pronominal prefixes are attached to some adjective stems.

**P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?**

V. no

**P026 \*-yanà compounding: Is a form related to \*-yanà ‘child’ productively used in word formation as the first member of a nominal compound (e.g. to express diminutive or group membership...)?**

V. yes

*mwanási/vanási*  
m-ana-Ø-si / va-ana-Ø-si  
NPx.CL1-child-NPx.CL9-country / NPx.CL2-child-NPx.CL9-country  
‘citizen / citizens’

N. Almost all examples are loans from Swahili together with their functions.

**P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yanà and kazi ?)**

V. no

**P028 Agentive suffix -i: Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?**

V. 1

*mrúyi / varúyi*  
m-ruy-i / va-ruy-i (<-ruya)  
NPx.CL1-cook-NOML / NPx.CL2-cook-NOML  
‘cook / cooks’

*mseki / vaseki*

m-sek-i / va-sek-i

NPx.CL1-laugh-NOML / NPx.CL2-laugh-NOML

‘humorist / humorists’

**P029 Derivational suffix -o: Does the suffixation of -o occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?**

V. 2

*mló*

m-la-o

NPx.CL3-eat-NOML

‘diet’

N. Almost all examples are loans from Swahili except a few ones.

*lukúNdo*

lu-kuNd-o

NPx.CL14-love-NOML

‘love’

**P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?**

V. no

1 *mwe*

2 *Nbirí*

3 *Ntátu*

4 *ɲne*

5 *sáno*

6 *síta*

7 *sabá*

8 *ɲnané*

9 *keNdá*

10 *ikúmi*

**P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?**

V. yes

*mkóno* / *mikóno*

m-kono / mi-kono

NPx.CL3-arm/hand / NPx.CL4-arm/hand

**P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?**



V. no

*kitfáa* / *vitfáa*

ki-tfáa / vi-tfáa

NPx.CL7-finger / NPx.CL8-finger

**P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?**

V. yes

*kuyu* / *mayu*

ku-yu / ma-yu

NPx.CL15-leg/foot / NPx.CL6-leg/foot

**P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?**

V. yes

*tfái*

Ø- tfái

NPx.CL9-tea

**P035 Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)**

V. yes

*-tfoka*      *-fiNd3ía*      *-zúa*

*-tfok-a*      *-fiNd3i-a*      *-zu-a*

be\_tired      fall\_asleep      be\_full

**P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?**

V. yes

-w

*áabiywa*      *ní rafiki*      *wakwé*

a;aa-biy-w-a      ni Ø-rafiki      wa-akwe

SM.CL1;PST2-hit-PASS-FV      by NPx.CL1a-friend PPx.CL1-POSS.CL1

‘He/She was hit by his/her friend.’

**P037 ‘Impersonal’ passive: Can an ‘impersonal’ construction be used to express passive meaning?**

V. null

**P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?**

V. 4

*ní* (short form: *ṇ*)

**P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?**

V. no?

**P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?**

V. 3

N. Verb without reciprocal suffix with preposition *na* can also have a reciprocal/associative meaning.

**P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?**

V. yes

<i>-dímikána</i>	<i>-manikana</i>
-dim-ik-an-a	-man-ik-an-a
can-STAT-REC-FV	know-STAT-REC-FV
‘be possible’	‘be known’

**P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?**

V. 3

Causative suffix: *-iʃ/-eʃ*, *-idʒ/-edʒ*

<i>-iʃ/-eʃ</i>	
<i>náagwifa</i>	<i>ṁtí</i>
ni-aa-gw-iʃ-a	ṁ-ti
SM.1SG-PST2-fall-CAUS-FV	NPx.CL3-tree
‘I made tree fall.’	

<i>-idʒ/-edʒ</i>	
<i>twáafědʒa</i>	<i>nama</i>
tu-aa-ʃ-edʒ-a	N-ama
SM.1PL-PST2-be_cooked_well-CAUS-FV	NPxCL9.-meat
‘We cooked meat well (lit. We made meat be cooked well).’	

**P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?**

V. no

**P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?**

V. 1

Applicative suffix: *-i/-j*

*náamtfwíá*

*mamé*

*waNǵú*

ni-aa-m-tfw-i-a

Ø-mame

wa-aNǵu

SM.1SG-PST2-OM.CL1-cut-APPL-FV NPx.CL1a-mother PPx.CL1-POSS.1SG

*ɲama*

N-ama

NPx.CL9-meat

‘I cut meat for my mother.’

N. *-j* is attached to the verb stems which end with vowels.

**P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?**

V. yes

N. Malefactive, substitutive, recipient, instrumental, direction/goal, reverse direction, locative, reason, and possessor.

**P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?**

V. no?

**P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?**

V. 1

Neuter/stative suffix: *-ik*

*igí*

*láabadzika*

i-gi

li-aa-badɜ-ik-a

NPx.CL5-egg

SM.CL5-PST<sub>2</sub>-break-STAT-FV

‘An egg was broken.’

**P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?**

V. 1

**P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?**

V. 1

*teṇvona*

teṇ-von-a

NegSM.2PL-see-FV

‘You (PL) do not see.’

*kahaNdwi*

*kamwe*

*tekénagwa*

ka-haNdwi

ka-mwe

teke-na-gw-a

NPx.CL12-knife

NPx.CL12-one

NegSM.CL12-NegPST<sub>2</sub>-fall-FV

‘A knife did not fall down.’

N. conditionals

*síkatóNgé*

*ṁdžini*

*ékúsáaza*

*javo*

si-ka-toNg-e

ṁ-džini

e-ku-saa-z-a

javo

SM.1SG-NegFUT-go-FV

NPx.CL3-town-LOC

SM.CL1-COND-NEG-come-FV

tomorrow

‘I will not go to the town if he/she comes tomorrow.’

**P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?**

V. 1

*úsinwé*

*NpoNbe*

u-si-nw-e

N-poNbe

SM.2SG-NEG-drink-SUBJ

NPx.CL9-water

‘Do not drink water.’

**P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?**

V. 2

*vána*

*vó*

*tevésóma*

*nézó*

v-ana

vo

teve-som-a

n-ezo

NPx.CL2-child

REL<sub>1</sub>.CL2

NegSM.CL2-study-FV

NPx.CL9-good

*tevékapáté*

*Ndimá*

*Ntana*

teve-ka-pat-e

N-dima

N-tana

NegSM.CL2-NegFUT-get-FV

NPx.CL9-work

NPx.CL9-good

‘The children who do not study well will not get a good job.’

**P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?**

V. 7

N. Negation is expressed in the pre-initial position in most main clauses except conditionals (in the post-initial position).

**P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?**

V. 2

**P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?**

V. 1

**P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?**

V. 1

**P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?**

V. no

**P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?**

V. 2

*sí-*

N. In the conditionals and subjunctives, the combination of affirmative singular subject prefix and negative prefix is used.

**P058 Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?**

V. no

**P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like ‘refuse/deny’ for instance)? (see P049)**

V. no

**P060 Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?**

V. yes

- 1SG *ɲnegwa*  
 ɲ-ne-gw-a  
 SM.1SG-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘I will fall down.’
- 1PL *tunegwa*  
 tu-ne-gw-a  
 SM.1PL-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘We will fall down.’
- 2SG *unegwa*  
 u-ne-gw-a  
 SM.2SG-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘You (SG) will fall down.’
- 2PL *ɲnegwa*  
 ɲ-ne-gw-a  
 SM.2PL-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘You (PL) will fall down.’
- CL1 *ɲNtu*                    *ɛnegwa*  
 ɲ-Ntu                    e-ne-gw-a  
 NPx.CL1-some    SM.CL1-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘A person will fall down.’
- CL2 *vaNtu*                    *venegwa*  
 va-Ntu                    ve-ne-gw-a  
 NPx.CL2-some    SM.CL2-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘People will fall down.’
- CL3 *ɲti*                    *únegwa*  
 ɲ-ti                    u-ne-gw-a  
 NPx.CL3-tree    SM.CL3-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘A tree will fall down.’
- CL4 *miti*                    *únegwa*  
 mi-ti                    u-ne-gw-a  
 NPx.CL4-tree    SM.CL4-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘Trees will fall down.’
- CL5 *ilua*                    *linegwa*  
 i-lua                    li-ne-gw-a  
 NPx.CL5-flower    SM.CL5-FUT-fall-FV  
 ‘A flower will fall down.’

- CL6 *malua énegwa*  
ma-lua e-ne-gw-a  
NPx.CL6-flower SM.CL6-FUT-fall-FV  
‘Flowers will fall down.’
- CL7 *kitfúNbí tñínegwa*  
ki-tfúNbí tñi-ne-gw-a  
NPx.CL7-chair SM.CL7-FUT-fall-FV  
‘A chair will fall down.’
- CL8 *vitfúNbí vinegwa*  
vi-tfúNbí vi-ne-gw-a  
NPx.CL8-chair SM.CL8-FUT-fall-FV  
‘Chairs will fall down.’
- CL9 *suke ínegwa*  
Ø-suke i-ne-gw-a  
NPx.CL9-clothes SM.CL9-FUT-fall-FV  
‘A clothes will fall down.’
- CL10 *suke dzínegwa*  
Ø-suke dži-ne-gw-a  
NPx.CL10-clothes SM.CL10-FUT-fall-FV  
‘Clothes will fall down.’
- CL11 *lukwí lúnegwa*  
lu-kwi lu-ne-gw-a  
NPx.CL11-firewood SM.CL11-FUT-fall-FV  
‘A firewood will fall down.’
- CL12 *kahaNdwi kénegwa*  
ka-haNdwí ke-ne-gw-a  
NPx.CL12-knife SM.CL12-FUT-fall-FV  
‘A knife will fall down.’
- CL14 *vuhaNdwi vúnegwa*  
vu-haNdwí vu-ne-gw-a  
NPx.CL14-knife SM.CL14-FUT-fall-FV  
‘Knives will fall down.’
- CL15 *kulá kwáasíja*  
ku-la ku-aa-sij-a  
NPx.CL15-eat SM.CL15-PST<sub>2</sub>-fall-FV  
‘Eating ended.’

CL16	<i>haNtu</i>	<i>háabáika</i>
	ha-Ntu	ha-aa-ba-ik-a
	NPx.CL16-some	SM.CL16-PST <sub>2</sub> -break-STAT-FV

‘The place was broken down.’

**P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)**

V. 2

N. Only human nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership.

**P062 1st and 2nd person plurals: Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?**

V. no

1PL *tu-*

2PL *m-*

**P063 Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express a honorific singular?**

V. no

**P064 Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?**

V. 2

**P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?**

V. 3

Past1

<i>tutóNgíe</i>	<i>iyuo</i>
tu-toNg-ie	iyuo
SM.1PL-go-PST <sub>1</sub>	yesterday

Past2

<i>náalá</i>	<i>kidzó</i>	<i>tjá</i>	<i>tféhémsí</i>
ni-aa-l-a	ki-dzo	tja	tfehemsi
SM.1SG-PST <sub>2</sub> -eat-FV	NPx.CL7-food	GEN.CL7	noon

‘I ate/have eaten lunch.’



Completive past

<i>néetóNgíe</i>	<i>áho</i>	<i>mjáka</i>	<i>ifirini</i>	<i>ikelie</i>
ni-aa-toNg-ie	aho	mi-aka	ifirini	i-kel-ie
SM.1SG-PST <sub>2</sub> -go-PST <sub>1</sub>	DEM.MED.CL16	NPx.CL4-year	20	SM.CL4-pass-PST <sub>1</sub>

‘I went there twenty years ago.’

N. In negation, completive past and past1 shows same time reference, on the other hands, the negation of past2 expresses imperfect.

**P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?**

V. 1

**P067 Suffix -ag-: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix -ag- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?**

V. yes

<i>mwána</i>	<i>waNgú</i>	<i>éfeNdzíyáa</i>	<i>hé kibáNdá</i>
m-ana	wa-aNgu	a-feNdziy-a-a	he ki-baNda
NPx.CL1-child	PPx.CL1-POSS.1SG	SM.CL1-play-HAB-FV	in NPx.CL7-field

<i>mpaká</i>	<i>tfámayerí</i>	<i>kíla</i>	<i>msí</i>
mpaka	tfamayeri	kila	m-si
until	evening	every	NPx.CL3-day

‘My child always plays in the field until the evening every day.’

N. habituality

**P068 Suffix -ile: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -ile or a similar form (as a reflex of \*-ide)?**

V. yes

*-je/-íe*

<i>étóNgíe</i>	<i>fúlé</i>	<i>iyuo</i>
a-toNg-ie	Ø-fule	iyuo
SM.1PL-go-PST <sub>1</sub>	NPx.CL9-school	yesterday

‘He went to school yesterday.’

**P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. ka- prefix)**

V. 1

*-ka*

N. Note: -ka- is only used in the indicatives and the past tense.

<i>iyuo</i>	<i>nirúyíe</i>	<i>vidzó</i>	<i>nikalá</i>
iyuo	ni-ruy-ie	vi-dzo	ni-ka-la
yesterday	SM.1SG-cook-PST <sub>1</sub>	NPx.CL8-food	SM.1SG-CONS <sub>1</sub> -eat-FV

<i>nikaʃiNdʒía</i>	<i>saa</i>	<i>ɲne</i>
ni-ka-ʃiNdʒi-a	Ø-saa	ɲne
SM.1SG-CONS <sub>1</sub> -sleep-FV	NPx.CL9-hour	4

‘Yesterday I cooked food, ate (it), and slept at 10.’

**P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker (‘come and V’)?**

V. 1

-ze

N. The definite verb with -ze- occurs only after the imperative verbs. -ze- is apparently derived from verb stem -za ‘come’.

<i>tóNgá</i>	<i>úzeéta</i>	<i>tʃái</i>
toNg-a	u-ze-et-a	Ø-tʃai
go-FV	SM.2SG-CONS <sub>2</sub> -bring-FV	CL9-tea

‘Go and bring tea.’

**P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?**

V. yes

*tóNga*

toNg-a

go-FV

‘go’

**P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?**

V. 1

*tóNgáni*

toNg-a-ni

go-FV-PL

‘go’

**P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?**

V. no

<i>n-ée-kú-rúy-a</i>	<i>vidʒó</i>	<i>iyuo</i>	<i>tʃámayeri</i>
ni-aa-ku-ruy-a	vi-dʒo	iyuo	tʃámayeri
SM.1SG-PST <sub>2</sub> -CONT-cook-FV	NPx.CL8-food	yesterday	evening

‘I was cooking food yesterday evening.’

N. Two preverbal slots have been attested with examples.

**P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?**

V. null

**P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters P012 & P013)?**

V. 1

**P076 Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?**

V. 2

a. <i>úu</i>	<i>ṁNtu</i>	<i>áaviváNka</i>
uu	ṁ-Ntu	a;aa-vi-va-Nk-a
DEM.PROX.CL1	NPx.CL1-some	SM.CL1;PST <sub>2</sub> -OM.CL8-OM.CL2 -give-FV
<i>vána</i>	<i>váNgú</i>	<i>vidzó</i>
v-ana	va-aNgu	vi-dzo
NPx.CL2-child	PPx.CL2-POSS.1SG	NPx.CL8-food
b. <i>úu</i>	<i>ṁNtu</i>	<i>áaváviNka</i>
uu	ṁ-Ntu	a;aa-va-vi-Nk-a
DEM.PROX.CL1	NPx.CL1.some	SM.CL1;PST <sub>2</sub> -OM.CL2-OM.CL8-give-FV
<i>vána</i>	<i>vaNgu</i>	<i>vidzo</i>
vana	va-aNgu	vi-dzo
NPx.CL2-child	PPx.CL2-POSS.1SG	NPx.CL8-food

‘This person gave my children food.’

N. Both IO and DO can be placed in the position.

**P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?**

V. 2

Reflexive prefix: *kú-*

*twáakívóna*

tu-aa-ku-von-a

SM.1PL-PST<sub>2</sub>-REF-see-FV

‘We saw ourselves.’

**P078 Object doubling: Can the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur in the same domain? (excluding ‘afterthought’ constructions)**

V. 1

**P079 Subjunctive final -e: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -e? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)**

V. yes

*tútóNge*

tu-toNg-e

SM.1PL-go-SUBJ

‘Let’s go.’

N. -e is not placed after the verb stem which ends with the vowel.

**P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters P052 and P053)**

V. no

**P081 Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?**

V. 3

-na ‘have’

*kahaNdwi*

*kéena*

*NkaNgá*

ka-haNdwi

ka-aa-na

N-kaNga

NPx.CL12-knife SM.CL12-PST<sub>2</sub>-have

NPx.CL9/10-rust

‘A knife had rust.’

*tuneoka*

*na*

*ŋoNbe*

*mwáka*

*wá*

*javo*

tu-ne-ok-a

na

N-oNbe

m-aka

wa

javo

SM.1PL-FUT-be-FV with

NPx.CL9/10-cow

NPx.CL3-year

GEN.CL3 tomorrow

‘We will have a cow (cows) next year.’

**P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?**

V. 1

*turoNgatáha*

*NpoNbe*

tu-roNg;a-tah-a

N-poNbe

SM.1PL-first-FV-draw(something liquid)-FV

NPx.CL10-water

‘We draw water first.’

**P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?**

V. null

**P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?**

V. 1

**P085 Auxiliary semantics: Are there auxiliaries which express semantic notions beyond tense/aspect? (i.e. notions which are often expressed by adverbs in European languages, like manner such as ‘quickly’)**

V. 2

<i>túmaNgelá</i>	<i>vidzó</i>
tu-maNg;e-la	vi-dzo
SM.1PL-hurry-SUBJ-eat-FV	NPx.CL8-food

‘Let’s eat meal in a hurry.’

**P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?**

V. no

**P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?**

V. yes

The RCs can be formed in the following ways:

- a. Without an overt relative marker
- b. With a relative pronoun specific to Mbugu (REL1)
- c. With the aNba- relative pronoun (REL2)

All three types of relative clauses observe the following three rules.

1. Head nouns precede the clause.
2. High tones on subject markers become lowered.
3. Future TA ne- has a high tone in the RC, while ne- carries a low tone in the main clause.

a.

<i>tútété</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ṁNtu</i>	<i>etóNgíe</i>	<i>rufótó</i>	<i>iyuo</i>
tu-tet-e	na	ṁ-Ntu	a-toNg-ie	rufoto	iyuo
SM.1PL-speak-SUBJ	with	NPx.CL-some	SM.CL1-go-PST <sub>1</sub>	Lushoto	yesterday

‘Let’s talk with the person who went to Lushoto yesterday.’

b.

<i>vaborá</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>uvávwéné</i>	<i>iyuo</i>	<i>vétóNga</i>
va-bora	vo	u-va-vwen-e	iyuo	va-toNg-a
NPx.CL2-girl	REL <sub>1</sub> .CL2	SM.2SG-OM.CL2-see-PST <sub>1</sub>	yesterday	SM.CL2-go-FV

*mweteni*

m-et-eni

NPx.CL3-river-LOC

‘The girls whom you saw yesterday go to the river.’

c.

<i>iyuo</i>	<i>náatéta</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>vaNtu</i>	<i>aNbávo</i>
iyuo	ni-aa-tet-a	na	va-Ntu	aNbavo
yesterday	SM.1SG-PST <sub>2</sub> -see-PST <sub>1</sub> -FV	with	NPx.CL2-some	REL <sub>2</sub> .CL2
vaawahi		kutoNga		Kepa
va-aa-wahi		ku-toNg-a		Kepa
SM.2PL-PST <sub>2</sub> -have_an_experience		NPx.CL15-go-FV		Kenya

‘Yesterday I met people who have been to Kenya.’

N. Through specific tonal marking and relative marker (b and c).

**P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?**

V. yes

N. see **P087** b and c.

**P089 Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word, does it agree with the head noun?**

V. yes

**P090 Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?**

V. yes

N. see **P087** b.

**P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?**

V. 2

N. see **P087** b.

**P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?**

V. no

<i>vidzó</i>	<i>dʒmáli</i>	<i>evíniétíe</i>
vi-dʒo	dʒmali	a-vi-ni-et-i-ie
NPx.CL8-food	Jamal	SM.CL1-OM.CL8-OM.1SG-bring-APPL-PST <sub>1</sub>

*vínitáhífa*

vi-ni-tahi-f-a

SM.CL8-OM.1SG-vomit-CAUS-FV

‘The food which Jamal brought me makes me vomit.’

**P093 Resumptive pronouns in relatives: In non-subject relatives, is there a resumptive element referring to the head noun (through object marking or independent pronoun)?**

V. 3

<i>mwána</i>	<i>vebigana</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jé</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>mwána</i>
m-ana	va-big-an-a	na	je	si	m-ana
NPx.CL1-child	SM.CL2-hit-REC-FV	with	PRO.CL1	NegCOP.CL1	NPx.CL1-child

*waNgú*

wa-aNgu

PPx.CL1-POSS.1SG

‘The child who is exchanging blows with him is not my child.’

<i>mborá</i>	<i>nimwíwíe</i>	<i>suke</i>
m-bora	ni-m-iv-i-ie	Ø-suke
NPx.CL1-girl	SM.1SG-OM.CL1-steal-APPL-PST <sub>1</sub>	NPx.CL9-clothes

<i>jakwé</i>	<i>éndósa</i>
ja-kwe	a-ni-dos-a
PPx.CL1-POSS.3SG	SM.CL1-OM.1SG-look_for-FV

‘The girl I stole the clothes from is looking for me.’

N. Resumptive pronoun is required in the RC whose head noun is a non-subject or non-object function.

**P094 Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal (‘when...’), locative (‘where...’), or manner (‘how...’) meaning?**

V. yes

Locative

<i>símapa</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>éífi</i>
si-map-a	ho	a-ífi
NegSM.1SG-know-FV	REL <sub>1</sub> .CL16	SM.CL1-live

‘I do not know where he/she lives.’

Manner

<i>símapa</i>	<i>tjó</i>	<i>vefikíe</i>	<i>áha</i>
si-map-a	tjo	va-fik-ie	aha
NegSM.1SG-know-FV	REL <sub>1</sub> .CL7	SM.CL2-arrive-PST <sub>1</sub>	DEM.PRO.CL16

‘I do not know how they arrived here.’

Temporal

<i>símaŋa</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>vefíkié</i>	<i>áha</i>
si-maŋ-a	ho	va-fík-ie	aha
NegSM.1SG-know-FV	REL <sub>1</sub> .CL16	SM.CL1-arrive-PST <sub>1</sub>	DEM.PRO.CL16

‘I do not know when they arrived here.’

**P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?**

V. yes

<i>héra</i>	<i>nitáyíé</i>	<i>Nboya</i>
Ø-hera	ni-tay-ie	N-boya
NPx.CL9-money	SM.1SG-sell-PST <sub>1</sub>	NPx.CL10-vegetable

‘The money I got by selling vegetables.’

**P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?**

V. yes

N. In the relatives without overt relative markers, the past tense prefix.

-íe (-je) is much more commonly used than -áa-.

**P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?**

V. 1

<i>ní</i>	<i>válá</i>	<i>vefeNdziya</i>	<i>NkaNdeni</i>	<i>já</i>	<i>mtó</i>
ni	va-la	va-feNdziy-a	N-kaNde-ni	ja	m-to
COP	NPx.CL2-girl	SM.CL2-play-FV	NPx.CL9-side-LOC	GEN.CL9	NPx.CL3-river

‘It is the girls who are playing by the river.’

<i>ní</i>	<i>válá</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>uvávwéníe</i>
ni	va-la	vo	u-va-vwen-ie
COP	NPx.CL2-girl	REL <sub>1</sub> .CL2	SM.2SG-OM.CL2-see-PST <sub>1</sub>

‘It is the girls who you saw.’

**P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?**

V. yes



Locative

<i>ní</i>	<i>lufótó</i>	<i>aNbáho</i>	<i>Nbúa</i>	<i>ígwa</i>	<i>sana</i>
ni	lufoto	aNbaho	N-bua	i-gw-a	sana
COP	lushoto	REL <sub>2</sub> .CL16	NPx.CL9-rain	SM.CL9-rain-FV	so_much

‘It’s Lushoto where it rains so much.’

**P099 Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?**

V. no

**P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?**

V. 5

**P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?**

V. yes

<i>uija</i>	<i>nî</i>
u-i-j-a	ni
SM.2SG-cry-APPL-FV	what

‘Why are you crying?’

**P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?**

V. 4

	SG	PL
1	<i>ni</i>	<i>tu</i>
2	<i>u</i>	<i>ṁ</i>
3	<i>ní</i>	<i>ní</i>

<i>úṁwí</i>	<i>ṁ</i>	<i>vatfě</i>
uṁwi	ṁ	va-tfě
PRO.2PL	COP.2PL	NPx.CL2-woman

‘You(PL) are women.’

<i>úu</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>ṁtí</i>	<i>wáNgú</i>
uu	ni	ṁ-ti	wa-aNgu
DEM.PROX.CL3	COP	NPx.CL3-tree	PPx.CL3-POSS.1SG

‘This is my tree.’

**P103 Affirmative copula:** In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 1

N. see **P102**.

**P104 Copula's other meanings:** In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. yes

N. *ní* also appears immediately before the agent noun in the passives (see **P036**).

**P105 'to have':** How is possession ('to have') expressed?

V. 6

<i>kahaNdw</i>	<i>kéena</i>	<i>NkaNgá</i>
ka-haNdwí	ka-aa-na	N-kaNga
NPx.CL12-knife	SM.CL12-PST <sub>2</sub> -have	NPx.CL9/10-rust

'A knife had rust.'

<i>tuneoka</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ŋoNbe</i>	<i>mwáka</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>javo</i>
tu-ne-ok-a	na	N-oNbe	ṁ-aka	wa	javo
SM.1PL-FUT-be-FV	with	NPx.CL9/10-cow	NPx.CL3-year	GEN.CL3	tomorrow

'We will have a cow (cows) next year.'

**P106 Verb + cognate object:** Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. yes

<i>áatfeka</i>	<i>kitfeko</i>
a;aa-tfɛk-a	ki-tfɛk-o
SM.CL1;PST <sub>2</sub> -laugh-FV	NPx.CL7-laugh-NOML

'He/She laughed.'

**P107 Verb doubling constructions:** Are there verb doubling constructions, where a non-finite verb form (e.g. infinitive, verbal base) appears before an inflected form of the same verb?

V. 2

<i>kuṁvóna</i>	<i>náaṁvóna</i>	<i>mirá</i>	<i>sídímié</i>
ku-ṁ-von-a	ni-aa-ṁ-von-a	mira	si-dim-ie
NPx.CL15-OM.CL1-see-FV	SM.1SG-PST <sub>2</sub> -OM.CL1-see-FV	but	NegSM.1SG-can-PST <sub>1</sub>

<i>kutéta</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jé</i>
ku-tet-a	na	je
NPx.CL15-talk-FV	with	PRO.CL1

'As for seeng him, I saw him/her, but I could not talk with him/her.'



*kitédzú*

ki-tedʒu

NPx.CL7-basket

‘I bought a basket for my mother.’

N. The case of causative has not been attested yet.

**P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)**

V. yes

*váatívóna*

va-aa-tu-von-a

SM.CL2-PST<sub>2</sub>-OM.1PL-see-FV

‘They saw us.’

**P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?**

V. 1

*úu*

*ṁNtu*

*áaṁkóma*

*babá*

uu

ṁ-Ntu

a;aa-ṁ-kom-a

Ø-baba

DEM.PROX.CL1

NPx.CL1-some

SM.CL1;PST<sub>2</sub>-OM.CL1-kill-FV

NPx.CL1.-father

*waNgú*

wa-aNgu

PPx.CL1-POSS.1SG

‘This person killed my father.’

**P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?**

V. yes

*kíla*

**P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?**

V. yes

**P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?**

V. yes

N. see P112.

**P116 Control of object order:** In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. 3

**P117 Object order asymmetry:** In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. yes

N. No examples.

**P118 Focus position:** In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. null

**P119 Aux-Obj. pronoun-Verb:** In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no?

**P120 Infinitive-Auxiliary:** Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?

V. no

**P121 Verb-subject:** Are there verb-initial clauses with subject inversion (e.g.thetic statements or subject focus)?

V. null

**P122 Locative inversion:** Is locative inversion attested?

V. 1

<i>tfuNbaní</i>	<i>áha</i>	<i>hékáa</i>	<i>vaNtu</i>	<i>vairí</i>
tf-uNba-ni	aha	ha-kaa	va-Ntu	va-iri
NPx.CL7-room-LOC	DEM.PROX.CL16	SM.CL16-live-FV	NPx.CL2-some	NPx.CL2-2

‘Two persons live in this room.’

**P123 Patient inversion:** Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. no

**P124 Instrument inversion:** Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

**P125 Conjunction ‘and’:** Is the conjunction ‘and’ used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

V. yes

**P126 Subsequent/consecutive:** Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. yes

Ventive marker: *-ze-* and Itive marker: *-ka-* (see **P069**).

**P127 Complementiser presence:** Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. 1

*iti*

**P128 Complementiser location:** Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. 1

**P129 Complementiser origin:** Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘tell’?

V. no

**P130 Complementiser agreement:** Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. no

**P131 if-clauses expression:** How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 2

<i>si-ka-toNge</i>	<i>mdzini</i>	<i>ekuza</i>	<i>javo</i>
si-ka-toNg-e	m-dʒi-ni	a-ku-z-a	javo
SM.1SG-NegFUT-go-FV	NPx.CL3-town-LOC	SM.CL1-COND-come-FV	tomorrow

‘I will not go to the town if he/she comes tomorrow.’

**P132 if-clause order:** Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. no

N. see **P131**.

**P133 if-clause = then-clause:** Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. no

N. see **P131**.

**P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?**

V. yes

**P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, onceclause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?**

V. 4

when-clause (past tense)

<i>nirefika</i>	<i>úko</i>	<i>iduka</i>	<i>láafiNgwa</i>
ni-re-fik-a	uko	i-duka	li-aa-fiNg-w-a
SM.1SG-CONT <sub>1</sub> -arrive-FV	DEM.MED.CL16	SM.CL5-shop	SM.CL6-PST <sub>2</sub> -close -PASS-FV

‘When I arrived there the shop was closed.’

when-clause (present and future tense)

same as conditionals

**P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?**

V. 3

**P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?**

V. 2

**P138 SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)**

V. yes?

**P139 Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?**

V. null

**P140 Morphological focus marker: Can a focused term be marked by a morphological focus marker?**

V. no

**P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as ‘too’, ‘only’ or ‘even’?**

V. yes

**P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)**

V. no